

M. Cooper

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
Happy Revolution,
In 1688.

Humbly DEDICATED

To His most Gracious Majesty

King George,

By the Principal TRANS-
ACTOR in it.

L O N D O N :

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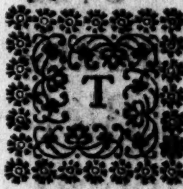
LONDON

Printed for the Author, by S. K. at the
the Printing-Office in Pall-mall

TO THE
K I N G's

Most Excellent MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

 **HE** following Lines
seem naturally to offer
themselves to Your
Sacred **MAJESTY's** Perusal,
since they contain a short Ac-
count of some material Cir-
cumstances attending the late
happy *Revolution*, which the
Divine Providence intended
as the Foundation of those

lasting Blessings which we
our selves enjoy under your
M A J E S T Y's most wise and
auspicious Administration ;
and of which we have a most
comfortable View for our Po-
sterity under your Royal Issue,
upon whom, as upon your
M A J E S T Y's Sacred Person, that
Almighty GOD may ever
continue to pour down abun-
dantly his most precious Bles-
sings, Spiritual and Temporal,
shall always be the most fer-
vent Prayer of,

Great S I R,

Your M A J E S T Y's

most Dutiful and most Loyal Subject,

and most humble and obedient Servant,

Hugh Speke.

THE
PREFACE.

THE following Treatise contains (amongst other Things) a circumstantiated Relation of several Incidents that attended the Revolution in 1688, as well as others that preceded it. I shall take Notice but of three of the many Particulars mention'd in the ensuing Discourse, viz. The Publishing of a Paper, call'd The Prince's Third Declaration, when his Highness was upon his March from Exeter to London; the spreading all over the

the Kingdom in one Day the Alarm made of an Irish Conspiracy; and the Circumstances of King James's Retreat to France. All these secret Actions are unfolded here; and those Things which have long appear'd Mysterious to the greater Part of Mankind, set in the clearest Light, by the only Person who was the Author and Manager of them; with many other Transactions both antecedent and subsequent, for an Account of which, the Reader is referr'd to the Treatise it self.

THE

THE
Secret History
 OF THE
Happy REVOLUTION
 In 1688, &c.

IF it be a general Principle inherent to all Men to desire the Approbation of their fellow Creatures in what they undertake, Mr. *Speke* the Publisher of this Treatise, has Reason to hope that the candid and ingenious Reader will neither accuse him of Vanity or Immodesty, for attempting to dispose Mankind to a favourable Opinion of his Person and Actions, by the following Apology of them; in which he has endeavour'd to set in the clearest Light, the real Motives which induc'd him, not only to forego the great Advantages he might have derived to Himself and Family, (for which few private Gentlemen in *England* had better Opportunities); if he would have entred (as many did) into the Measures of the Times, but also to sacrifice a considerable Patrimony in zealously serving and

and promoting the real Interests and Welfare of his Country, in direct Opposition to those of his own private Fortune.

Mr. *Speke* thought himself under so much the greater Obligation to premise something of this Nature, because he has been exposed in Print, and otherways in the late Reign, to the most virulent Calumnies of a Faction, who will never forgive any of those that were Instrumental in the late Happy Revolution, whereby their Hopes were defeated, and a Stop was put to that Fury with which they persecuted all those who had Courage and Honesty enough to stand up for the Defence of the Religion, Laws and Liberties of their Country; amongst whom not any Gentleman in the Kingdom suffer'd in a more eminent Degree than Himself and his Family, of which the Reader is pray'd to accept this following Account.

Mr. *Speke* is the second Son of *George Speke*, of *Whitelackington* in the County of *Somerset*, Esquire, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family and plentiful Estate, and as Eminent for his Services and Sufferings for the Royal Cause in the Civil Wars, as any Gentleman in *England*.

From the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, till after the Dissolution of the Long Parliament in his Reign, *George Speke* the Father liv'd an easie and retir'd Life, at his
Seat

Seat in *Somersetshire*, without so much as once coming to *London*, or in the least concerning himself in Publick Affairs, till being called by the repeated Importunities of the Freeholders of his Country, to stand as Candidate for Knight of the Shire, after the Discovery of the Popish Plot by *Titus Oates*, in Opposition to a Gentleman who in the preceding Parliament had voted against the Bill of Exclusion. He thought it inconsistent with the Character of an Englishman and a Protestant, to decline appearing in those Times of Danger: And his eldest Son *John* being at the same time solicited, was likewise chosen Burgess for the County Town of *Ivelchester* in the same Parliament. After which they both did strenuously oppose with the greatest Vigour and with their Interest, the destructive Schemes of the Court, and stood up in that and the succeeding Parliaments for the Bill of Exclusion: Which being the Touchstone of those Days, they became obnoxious in the highest Degree to the Duke of *York*, whose Interest sometime afterwards did prevail, to the Depression of all Persons that durst oppose it, and almost to the Subversion of the Establish'd Church and Constitution of *England*; since several of the chiefest Pillars of our Religion, Laws and Liberties fell in the Struggle, and particularly those never to be forgotten Patriots, *Russell*,
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sel,

fel, Sidney and Cornish, by an arbitrary and illegal Sentence; and the noble Earl of *Essex* by the Hands of vile Assassins, while a Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, the News of whose Death being brought where the noble Lord *Russel* was on his Trial at the *Old Bayley*, it was suggested to the Jury, that the said Earl out of Horrour and Despair had murder'd himself; which proved an Inducement towards the Convicting the Lord *Russel*, who was the Person that carried up to the House of Lords the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of *York*, for which he was to be remembred in due Time, as he then was.

Mr. *Speke* (the Publisher of this Discourse) laying deeply to Heart the then languishing Condition of his Country, and out of an earnest Desire to contribute what might be in his Power, towards the retrieving of the publick Misfortunes and Calamities, was willing to give his Assistance in making the Discovery of the horrid Murther, committed on the Person of the abovesaid noble Earl in the Tower; the Detection of which he justly conceiv'd wou'd be of infinite Use and Service, by opening the Eyes of the deluded Multitude, and inspiring them with a suitable Horrour and Aversion towards the Promoters of it: Upon which he wrote a Lett. by Mr. *Lawrence Braddon*, to his particular

ticular Friend Sir *Robert Atkyns* then in *Gloucestershire*, concerning the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, which Letter being taken on Mr. *Braddon*, who was apprehended at *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, by a busy Emissary in those Times, and being sent to the Secretary of State at *London*; in order to prevent Mr. *Speke*'s giving any further Aid to Mr. *Braddon* in the Discovery of that Earl's Murder; he was taken into the Custody of a Messenger, and detained in his House in a most expensive Manner, with a continual Guard of Soldiers Day and Night for eighteen Weeks, before he could be admitted to Bail in the King's-Bench. Nor was this all, for the fifth Day after his being bail'd, he was arrested at *Westminster-Hall* Gate in his Bar-Gown, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, for One hundred thousand Pounds, at the Suit of *James Duke of York*, and carried directly to the Gatehouse Prison; in the Defence of which Action he was oblig'd to expend above a thousand Pounds. Yet at last the Duke's Agents not thinking it for their Master's Honour and Service to try the Issue, countermanded the Trial at *Hertford* Assizes, the very Night before it was to have come on, whereby it was evident that the Design of bringing that vexatious Action, was only to disable Mr. *Speke* from being assisting to Mr. *Braddon* in prosecuting the Disco-

very of the said Earl's Murder, and from making his own Defence on a Prosecution commenced against him on the said Letter, tho' seen by no Person till sent to the Secretary of State. Mr. *Speke* was thereon prosecuted as a Sower of Sedition, and an Inventor and Propagator of false and scandalous Reports reflecting on the Government; and tho' a strenuous Defence was made, it signify'd nothing; for the Judges being only during Pleasure, a Trial was not so much the Business of the Court. Condemnation was their Province, having Juries fitted for their Purpose. And thus Mr. *Speke* was fined by the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies* One thousand Pounds, and to find Security for his good Behaviour, and was thereupon committed to the King's Bench Prison, where he continu'd at a great Expence for above four Years successively, to his vast Loss and Prejudice.

Mr. *Speke* had a Brother *Charles*, a hopeful young Gentleman, deservedly esteemed by all that knew him; he was Philizar for the Counties of *Devon*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Bristol* and *Poole*, which Office purchas'd for Life, together with his Chambers in *Lincolns-Inn*, cost at least three thousand Pounds, the Duke of *Monmouth's* Invasion was laid hold of as a Pretence to bring that unhappy Youth to an untimely End. He was seiz'd in his
Way

Way towards *London*, where his Affairs requir'd his Presence. There was no want of Evidence in those Days, *Naboth* was made a Blasphemer, because he had a Vineyard. The News of his being apprehended being brought to *London*, *Jefferies* who was to try him, beg'd his Office of King *James*, not imagining that the Lord Chief Justice *Jones*, of the Common Pleas, durst presume to assert his Right thereunto, in Case the Youth should be convicted. When *Jefferies* had obtain'd King *James's* Grant of the said Office, there remain'd nothing to do but to hang him, which was soon after accomplish'd. Nor could the Blood of the innocent Son satiate the revengeful Genius of the Court against the mournful and unhappy Father, but in 1686. he must also be brought to a Trial at *Wells* Summer Assizes, for a pretended Riot in rescuing his Son in Law, Sir *John Trenchard*, from a Messenger who came to Mr. *Speke's* House at Midnight. He was convicted upon the Trial, before the then Baron *Jennour*, but no Fine then imposed on him where he was tried; but was respited till the following Michaelmas Term, when King *James's* Pleasure was signify'd to the Judges what should be done; and then the Lord Chief Justice *Wright* fin'd Mr. *Speke* Two thousand Marks, and

and to find Security for his good Behaviour.

Mr. *Speke* his Son having procured the Liberty of the Rules of the King's-Bench at a considerable Charge, and upon giving unexceptionable Security for his true Imprisonment, hir'd and furnished an House in the Rules, in which he lived sometime; but that was thought (tho' nothing more common) too great a Favour for him to enjoy. He was taken into Custody by special Order, and confined in the said Prison under the Key, which piece of Rigour and Severity did Providentially become more Prejudicial to the Interest of his greatest Enemies, than possibly his Liberty might have been.

The late Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnson* was then also in Custody in the same Prison, for a Fine for writing a Book call'd *Julian the Apostate*, and lodg'd in the Room under Mr. *Speke*, by whose Advice the said Mr. *Johnson* pen'd several Pieces, which were of great use to the Protestant Cause in those Times; which Writings Mr. *Speke* procur'd to be printed, having all along kept a Press for secret Services (managed by a faithful Hand) at his own Expence.

One Thing particularly there was which made no small Noise afterwards. Mr. *Speke*, after a very thoughtful Night, told Mr. *Johnson* the next Morning, that he had been consider-

considering of a Subject, on which if something were writ in a proper Stile, it would be of very great Service to the Nation and the Protestant Cause, in alienating the Minds of the *Protestant* Officers and Soldiers in King *James's* Army, and inspiring them with an Aversion to his Service, by Arguments drawn from Topicks of Religion, Honour and Love of their Country and themselves, thereby to awake them to a Sense of their Danger and Duty, and to prevent their Fighting with their Bodies against their Souls: He then gave him the Heads and principal Points he thought it wou'd be fit to insist upon, which Mr. *Johnson* forthwith form'd into a Discourse call'd *Advice to the Army*; of which Paper when printed, Mr. *Speke* caused twenty Thousand to be dispersed in one Night amongst King *James's* Troops at *Hounslow*, and as many more to be dispers'd all over the Kingdom the very same Night: And tho' he was greatly suspected of being concerned in Publishing and Dispersing that, and many other Papers against the Popish Interest, and his Chamber in the Prison often search'd (but nothing discover'd, tho' there were at least twenty thousand Copies of those Papers then concealed in it), they never could procure any Evidence of the Fact against him, as they most unhappily did against

gainst Mr. Johnson, who being betray'd by one Bellamy, then a Hosier in the Borough of Southwark, whom he had intrusted to send a small Number of them to Chichester in Sussex, he was tried and convicted before the Lord Chief Justice Herbert, who besides a Fine, sentenc'd him to be whip'd from Newgate to Tyburn, which without any Regard had to his Gown and Character, was executed in the most cruel Manner. That Paper was drawn up in the following Words :

Advice to the Army.

Gentlemen,

NEXT to the Duty which we owe to God, which ought to be the principal Care of Men of your Profession, especially because you carry your Lives in your Hands, and often look Death in the Face, The second Thing that deserves your Consideration is the Service of your Native Country, wherein you drew your first Breath, and breathed a free English Air : Now, I would desire you to consider how well you comply with these two main Points, by engaging in this present Service.

Is it in the Name of God and for his Service, that you have joyn'd your selves with Papists, who will indeed fight for the Mass-Book but burn the Bible, and who seek to Extirpate the Protestant Religion with your Swords, because they cannot do it with their own? And will you be aiding and assisting to set up Mass-Houses, to erect the Popish Kingdom of Darknes and Desolation amongst us, and to train up all our Children in Popery? How can you do these things, and yet call your selves Protestants.

And then what Service can be done your Country, by being under the Command of French and Irish Papists, and by bringing the Nation under a Foreign Toak? Will you help them to make a forcible Entry into the Houses of your Countrymen under the name of Quartering, directly contrary to Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right? Will you too be aiding and assisting to all the Murders and Outrages which they shall commit by their void Commissions, which were declared illegal, and sufficiently blasted by both Houses of Parliament, (if there had been any need of it) for it was very well known before, that a Papist cannot have a Commission, but by the Law is utterly disabled and disarmed? Will you exchange your Birth-right of English Laws and Liberty, for Martial and Club Law, and help to destroy one another, only to be eaten last your selves? If I know you well, as ye are Englishmen, you hate and scorn these Things, and therefore be not unequally Toak'd with Idolatrous

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*and Bloody Papists: Be valiant for the Truth,
and shew your selves Men.*

*The same Considerations are likewise humbly
offer'd to all the English Seamen, who have
been the Bulwark of this Nation against
Popery and Slavery ever since 1588.*

Mean Time, Mr. Speke observing diligently the bent of the Times, and keeping a regular Correspondence with many Persons of Figure, as well in *England*, as at the Court of the then Prince of *Orange*, he began to think of proper Methods to procure his Liberty; believing that some Opportunities might happen, wherein he might perform more important Services abroad, than he could in Prison. For that End, he made his Application first to the Marquess of *Pomis*, to know of the King upon what Conditions he might be released: But had for answer, that nothing could be done till his Father's and his Fines were paid, amounting in all to the Sum of two Thousand three Hundred Twenty Seven Pounds, six Shillings and eight Pence; and till Security was given for his Father in the Sum of twenty Thousand Pounds, and for himself in the Sum of ten Thousand Pounds for their good Behaviour.

Mr. Speke wanted not ability to pay the Fines, and was very willing to part with
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the Money to procure his Liberty ; nor were Friends wanting to be security ; but he did not think it convenient to bring them into such dangerous Engagements for so great a Sum, for his and his Family's Fidelity to an Interest which they were firmly determin'd by Principle to oppose. Good Behaviour in the Style of that Reign, was a blind and absolute compliance with the Arbitrary Designs of a Court, where every thing was framed to the Model of the *Jesuites*. At last an Expedient was propos'd by the King himself, which was, that Mr. *Speke* should pay into the Exchequer the Sum of Five Thousand Pounds, as a Pledge of his and his Families good Behaviour, with his Royal Promise that it should be refunded in two Years Time, in case they should demean themselves to his Majesties Satisfaction, who thereupon would grant a Pardon to the Father and Son, and likewise to *Mary Speke* his Mother, *John Speke* his Elder Brother, and *Mary Jennings* his Sister, a Widow ; who were also obnoxious to the Court, but against whom there never was any Prosecution.

Mr. *Speke* preferr'd that hard Condition of paying Five Thousand Pounds, to the much harder one of giving Thirty Thousand Pounds Security for their good Behaviour ; and this was all the Favour that in those Merciful Times cou'd be indulged to Mr. *Speke* and his Son, altho' the Father had raised

several Hundreds of Horse and Foot at his own Charge, to serve in the Royal Army during the Civil Wars, which was not unknown to the King himself, and to most of the Court, their Memories having been refresh'd by a then recent Instance; which had made Noise enough.

When the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of *Somerset* put up Mr. *Speke* the Father for Knight of the Shire, in opposition to a Gentleman that had in the preceding Parliament Voted against the Bill of Exclusion (and his Eldest Son for the County-Town) the Court finding on one side, that he was impregnable to all their Applications, and on the other Hand, that all their Power and Authority cou'd not influence any Number of the Electors, their last Resort was to Fraud, Oppression and Violence. There was a Suggestion made, or pretended to have been made at Court, that on his Return home from the said Election Mr. *Speke* had said, that he wou'd have forty Thousand Men to assist in the Service of the *Duke of Monmouth* against the *Duke of York* when ever Occasion should be; this was a most gross and villanous Falsehood and Imposition upon Mr. *Speke*, who had always demean'd himself in a most Dutiful and Loyal Manner, and was a Gentleman of too much Sense, and had too great a Stake to venture, to expose himself to such a Degree, if his Sentiments had really been

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as was alledg'd against him. He did indeed with all his Power oppose the Interest of the Duke of York. But what he did therein, was in a Legal and Parliamtary Manner, in the Face of the Court, and of all the Nation.

The Priviledge of Parliament, which was ever allow'd to be the Right of every Member of the House of Commons, was then so little regarded, that notwithstanding Mr. Speke's indisputable Election to serve as Knight of the Shire, *Blundell* a Messenger was sent down into *Somersetshire* with a Warrant from the then Secretary of State, to bring up Mr. Speke to *London*. When he came to his House, he found him at Dinner in his Hall, in Company with a Noble Peer and Six or Seven Members of the House of Commons, with his Son and a Gentleman, who after became his Son-in-law, who were also Members of Parliament. All those Gentlemen engag'd for Mr. Speke's Attendance on the King and Council with as much Dispatch as his Age cou'd permit him to travel; and the Messenger had the Civility to grant him that Favour, and to return to give the Court an Account in what Manner he had executed his Commission.

In some small Time after, Mr. Speke came to *London*, and being accompanied to the Council Chamber by several of the Nobility, and many of the most considerable Gentry of the *West of England*, to the Number

ber of Forty and upwards, he paid his Attendance, where being call'd in, his Charge was read against him by the Lord High Chancellor, in the Presence of the King and Prince *Rupert*. He made a Defence becoming a true *English Gentleman*; and being a Person of undaunted Resolution, he took leave in the most respectful Terms, to put the King in Mind of the many Thousand Pounds he had expended in the Service of the King his Father and his Majesty, his several Years Imprisonment by *Oliver Cromwell*, and his being condemned to Death by him; and of the Sum of near Ten Thousand Pounds imposed upon him for those Services by the then prevailing Power, as a Composition for his Estate: He added that he never had, or wou'd be concern'd in any Action unworthy of his Character and former Loyal Behaviour; that he would always be a Dutiful Subject to his Majesty, but never wou'd violate the Obligations he conceiv'd himself to be under in Point of Honour to his Country, and therefore wou'd firmly oppose a Popish Succession, as he always did after he was Elected.

Prince *Rupert* then stood up, and desir'd the Favour of the King, that Mr. *Speke* might be ord.r'd to withdraw; which being done his Highness confirm'd all that Mr. *Speke* had said of his faithful Services to the Crown, and added one Circumstance more, which Mr. *Speke*

Speke thought would not have seem'd Handsome to mention: He told the King, that when he was at the Siege of *Bridgewater*, in the greatest Difficulties for want of Money, Mr. *Speke* sent him a Thousand Broad Pieces, of which he was so far from soliciting the Reimbursement, that he had not seen or heard from him since that Time. He further suggested, what Advice he thought proper to give his Majesty on that Occasion; upon which that false Accusation was dismiss'd; and the next Morning after, the Prince sent one of his Gentlemen, Mr. *Douset*, to invite Mr. *Speke* to Dine with him, which Honour he accepted, and was receiv'd and entertain'd in the most obliging Manner by his Highness.

It was in the Year 1686, that Mr. *Hugh Speke* obtain'd his Liberty by King *James's* Pardon, as aforesaid. The Court, or City of *London*, were then no proper Places for his Residence, and therefore he withdrew into his native Country; where he was no sooner arriv'd, but he was chosen City-Council for *Exeter*, where he resided till a very small Time before the Arrival of the then Prince of *Orange*, our glorious Deliverer, when he conceived that he might be of more use at *London* than at *Exeter*.

Being one Day at *Whitehall*, whither he frequently went after he came to *London*, and where he was always a diligent Observer of
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the Countenances of the Courtiers; he was taken aside by the Lord Marquess of *Powis*, who said, that he hoped that Mr. *Speke* and all his Family wou'd be Zealous on that critical Juncture in the Service of the King, who had been graciously pleas'd to Favour them with his Pardon. Mr. *Speke* reply'd, That his Lordship was greatly mistaken in calling that a gracious Pardon, which was purchased at a Sum exceeding double the Value of the Fines impos'd; besides the irretrievable Loss of his Innocent younger Brother. To this the Marquess was pleas'd to answer, that as to the five Thousand Pounds which had been paid, it had been appropriated to the publick Service in the Fortification of the Harbour of *Portsmouth*; but that his Lordship wou'd undertake for the immediate Repayment of that Sum, in case Mr. *Speke* would give him an assurance of his and his Family's Services to the King in that Extremity; and then desiring to know where Mr. *Speke* lodg'd, his Lordship pull'd out his Pocket-Book and set it down.

The Day after that Interview with the said Lord, Mr. *Speke* found at his Lodgings a Letter from *William Chefinch*, Esq; then Closet-keeper to the King, writ by his Majesty's Command, and ordering his Attendance the Night following at the said Mr. *Chefinch's* Lodgings in *Whitehall* at six a Clock, where being come, the King immediately
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came down Stairs: He told Mr. *Speke*, after much other Discourse, that he very well knew that he could do him far more Important Services than any Gentleman in *England* on that Occasion, being well acquainted not only with all the most considerable Gentlemen in the *West of England*, where he believ'd the Prince of *Orange*, his Son-in-law, wou'd land; but also with all those *English* Gentlemen that would attend him in the Expedition: That what he and his Family had suffer'd (as his Majesty was pleas'd to say) thro' Misinformation in his Reign, wou'd render his Person entirely agreeable and unsuspected at the Prince of *Orange's* Court; wherefore his Majesty earnestly desir'd him to go to meet the Prince as soon as he shou'd Land, and give him intelligence of his Strength and Designs; and as an Inducement to prevail with Mr. *Speke* to be Zealous in this intended Service, his Majesty propos'd to him not only the immediate Repayment of the five Thousand Pounds before extorted for his Pardon, but also that Mr. *Chefinch* should deposite in the Hands of any Goldsmith he should name, five Thousand Guineas more; for which a Note should be put into the Hands of Mr. *Speke*; and that the said Money should be paid him as soon as he had perform'd the Services the King desir'd and expected from him, in sending him out of the *West of England*, an Account

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of

of what Forces the Prince brought over with him, which Way and when he designed to march, and what Persons of Quality and Gentlemen of Interest shou'd come into his Service after he was landed.

To this Mr. *Speke* answered, That the Service His Majesty desired of him was a Thing so difficult, and of so great Importance, that he cou'd not give Him an immediate Answer, for which he prayed a Day's Time to consider of it, to which His Majesty agreed.

Upon which Mr. *Speke* retir'd Strait to his Lodgings, to consider of the said Proposal, where he fell into deep Reflections, not at all to consider whether he should accept the King's Offers, but in what manner he should accept it, and how he should improve that offer made him, for the serving of those Ends he always had in View, from which he was firmly resolv'd he wou'd never deviate, as to the Interest, Honour and Security of his Religion and Country.

There is nothing more evident, Then that it was Mr. *Speke*'s Personal Interest to accept of the King's Proposal, in doing him the Services desired (abstracting from the Obligations of Consciencce) He might have been repaid the Five thousand Pounds paid into the Exchequer, might have had Five thousand Guineas more, and might have obtain'd other very considerable Advantages then propos'd

pos'd him by the King, if he wou'd really have perform'd those Services that were certainly in his Power to have done, with the greatest Ease and without any apparent Danger.

How vain is it for Princes to imagine, that Men of Honesty and Sense will serve their private Interests against Principle? Mr. *Speke* had before sacrific'd as much as any Gentleman in that Part of *England*, or perhaps any where else in the Kingdom, in firmly adhering to his Principle, and in performing what he conceiv'd to be his Duty to his Country, which he ever thought preferable to all other Interests and Obligations whatsoever. In this View he resolv'd to make use of the Opportunity that Providence had so fortunately put into his Hands, to joyn the Prince without Danger. He had been a great Sufferer by King *James*, and had at least a sufficient Title in Equity, Reason and Justice, to the Reimbursement of the Sums of Money most unjustly extorted by that unfortunate and misled Prince; yet as Mr. *Speke* intended him no Service, he judg'd it the more honourable Way to decline receiving any Money either of his own Five thousand Pounds, or of the Five thousand Guineas propos'd him as a Reward, for the Services desir'd him by the King.

He waited on His Majesty next Evening in *Whitehall*, and then told him that

he had considered of the Proposal made him by His Majesty, which he cou'd not accept, unless he were allowed to take his own Measures and Methods it in: That His Majesty must grant him three blank Passes, one of them sign'd by his own Hand, and the other two by the Earl of *Feversham* General of His Army, without which he might be stop'd on the Road going down into the *West*, and those he should employ might be detain'd and ill us'd, in travelling from the Prince to him with the Account he should write him; which two Passes from the Earl of *Feversham* as he had writ them, he receiv'd from King *James's* own Hand two Days after, in the following Terms.

Lewis Earl of *Feversham*,
Lieutenant-General of His
Majesty's Forces.

*Suffer the Bearer hereof to pass and
repass freely at all Hours, Times
and Seasons, without any Molesta-
tion, Interruption or Denial.*

Feversham.

To all Officers Milli-
tary and Civil.

Upon

Upon receiving two Days after the said blank Passes, and one also of His own Hand Writing, His Majesty told Mr. *Speke*, that he look'd upon his generous Refusal of his being reimburs'd the said five thousand Pounds, or to be secured of the five thousand Guineas more intended to be given him by His Majesty, as Marks of the Sincerity of his Intentions to serve him, and therefore gave him the said Passes as desir'd, and order'd him to write his Letters to His Majesty himself, directing them under a Cover to Mr. *Richard Collins*, who was always to attend the King, and who was afterwards one of the Commissioners of his Revenues in *Ireland*, when that Prince went thither out of *France*.

Soon after, the King having receiv'd certain Intelligence of the Landing of the then Prince of *Orange* at *Torbay*, he order'd Mr. *Speke* to set out forthwith for *Exeter*, which he did. But being stop'd by a Captain of a Troop of Horse, at *Sturminster-Newton* in *Dorsetshire*, he was detain'd there a Day and a Night, till the Pass he had shew'd the Captain, was sent to the E. of *Arran* his Colonel at *Salisbury*, and an Answer return'd, upon which the said Captain deliver'd Mr. *Speke* his Pass again, being return'd by the Colonel with full Satisfaction to the Captain; upon which he was dismiss'd and pursu'd his Journey to *Exeter*.

When

When he arriv'd at a Town call'd *Honiton*, within fifteen Miles of it, he made his Application to Colonel *Talmash* (afterwards Lieutenant-General) who commanded a Battalion posted there as an advanc'd Guard to the Prince of *Orange*. And Mr. *Speke* being long before particularly known to the said Colonel, unlighted and putting up his Horses for two Hours, privately discours'd the said Colonel, and told him of the whole Affair of his being employ'd by King *James*, and shew'd him the three blank Passes, which he was extremely well pleas'd to see; and then gave him a Letter, upon which he was immediately introduc'd privately to the Prince at *Exeter* (Duke *Schomberg* and the late Earl of *Portland* being only present) to whom he opened the whole Design he was sent upon by the King, and deliver'd to His Highness the Passes he had procur'd in Order to do him Service, and which prov'd of no small use to him. Being immediately after fully satisfy'd by the Information of the chiefest *English* Gentlemen that landed with him, of the sincere Intentions of Mr. *Speke* to serve the Interests of His Highness, upon whose success the Happiness of the *British* Nation and *Ireland* did depend, he was pleas'd to honour Mr. *Speke* with his Confidence, and to peruse himself, the Letters which Mr. *Speke* sent to the King by his own
 Servants,

Servants, from time to time out of the West; and in some of which Mr. Speke confirm'd what he had told His Majesty in *London*, that several of his greatest Officers wanted nothing but an Opportunity of being near the Prince's Army, to declare themselves in His Favour and come over to him. Mr. Speke was not ignorant of the timorous Disposition not only of the King, but of those wicked Ministers whose Consciences reproaching them with their Crimes and Treasons: They were in a continual Terrour and Apprehension of the just Reward of them. Soon after this, the King beginning to be fully sensible of His Error in attempting to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power, by the Assistance of an Army of which the greatest as well as the bravest Part was compos'd of *British* Protestants; and finding that Part of His Army had deserted him, and was gone over to the Prince of *Orange*, His Majesty then thought fit to withdraw his Person from amongst them at *Salisbury*, leaving the Command of His Army to the Earl of *Feversham*; and so retir'd back to *London*, in order to endeavour by His Presence there, to quiet the Minds of the People, and to support the sinking Spirits of His Courtiers and their Adherents. His Majesty thought it convenient to take along with him Prince *George of Denmark* and the Duke of *Ormond*, who both left him at *Andover* in *Hampshire*, and

and came together and joyn'd the Prince, at the late Earl of *Bristol's* House at *Sherborn* Castle in *Dorset*; which together with the going over of a great many other Officers of less Distinction, did not a little contribute to confirm the King's Belief of the good Inclinations of Mr. *Speke*, who had foretold what wou'd and did ensue. Not with a Design to prevent it, which was almost impossible, but in order to create a Mistrust and Jealousy in His Mind, even of those who were heartily and sincerely in His Interest.

Before Mr. *Speke* left *London*, he had concerted Proper Measures with some Friends there, for executing of such Designs as he had form'd for the Publick Service.

During his Stay at *Exeter* and on the Road, he had made himself acquainted with some of the Chief of the *Dutch* and other Foreigners, who were near the Prince and greatly intrusted by him; and before perfectly well knew all the *English* Gentry that landed with him. He had left a Paper with a Friend in *London*, sealed up in the Nature of a Declaration, such as he judg'd proper to terrifie the *Papists*, and to inspire the *Protestants* with Courage, pen'd by himself and another Gentleman, perfectly well affected to that Interest. That Paper wanted only the Formality of such a Piece, which by his Directions by the Post (by a Letter unsubsrib'd) was given to it in the Manner

Manner following: And was, pursuant to his Directions, put under a Booksellers Shop-Door in the Night time, who was instructed before hand what use to make of it, upon which it was immediately Printed and Publish'd as follows,

While I have in the Course of our Life more particularly by the appearance of Hazards both by Sea and Land, to which we have so lately exposed our Nation, given to the whole World to high and undoubted Proof of our sincere Zeal to the Protestant Religion, that we are fully convinced no true Englishman and good Protestant can ever be the least Subjunct of our former Religion, rather to spend our precious Blood and sweat in the Attempt, than not to carry on the blessed and glorious Design, which by the favour of Heaven we have so successfully begun, to restore England, Ireland and Scotland, to Liberty and Justice; and in a free Parliament to establish the Religion, the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, on such a sure and lasting Foundation, that it shall not be in the Power of any Prince or Prince, to introduce Popery and Tyranny.

E By the favour of Heaven we have not been hindered in the last Expedition we had of the Conquest of the North, Germany and

By His Highness *William*
Henry, Prince of Orange, A
 Third Declaration.

‘ **W**E have in the Course of our Life,
 ‘ more particularly by the apparent
 ‘ Hazards both by Sea and Land, to which
 ‘ we have so lately expos’d our Person, gi-
 ‘ ven to the whole World so high and un-
 ‘ doubted Proofs of our fervent Zeal to the
 ‘ *Protestant Religion*, that we are fully con-
 ‘ fident no true *Englishman* and good Pro-
 ‘ testant, can entertain the least Suspicion of
 ‘ our firm Resolution, rather to spend our
 ‘ dearest Blood and perish in the Attempt,
 ‘ then not to carry on the blessed and glo-
 ‘ rious Design, which by the Favour of
 ‘ Heaven we have so successfully begun, to
 ‘ rescue *England, Scotland and Ireland*, from
 ‘ *Popery and Slavery*; and in a free Parlia-
 ‘ ment to establish the Religion, the Laws
 ‘ and Liberties of these Kingdoms, on such
 ‘ a sure and lasting Foundation, that it shall
 ‘ not be in the Power of any Prince for the
 ‘ Future, to introduce *Popery and Tyranny*.
 ‘ Towards the more easy compassing this
 ‘ great Design, we have not been hitherto
 ‘ deceiv’d in the just Expectation we had of
 ‘ the Concurrence of the Nobility, Gentry
 ‘ and

' and People of *England* with us, for the
 ' Security of their Religion and Restitution
 ' of the Laws, and the Re-establishment of
 ' their Liberties and Properties: Great
 ' Numbers of all Ranks and Qualities have
 ' joyned themselves to us; and others at
 ' great Distance from us, have taken up
 ' Arms and declar'd for us. And which
 ' we cannot but particularly mention in
 ' that Army, which was rais'd to be an In-
 ' strument to *Slavery* and *Popery*, many (by
 ' the special Providence of God) both Offi-
 ' cers and common Soldiers, have been
 ' touch'd with such a feeling Sense of Reli-
 ' gion and Honour, and of true Affection to
 ' their Native Country, that they have al-
 ' ready deserted the illegal Service they were
 ' engag'd in, and have come over to us, and
 ' given us full Assurance from the Rest
 ' of the Army, that they will certainly fol-
 ' low their Example, as soon as with our Ar-
 ' my we shall approach near enough to re-
 ' ceive them, without hazard of being pre-
 ' vented or betray'd. To which end, and
 ' that we may the sooner execute the just
 ' and necessary Design we are engaged in,
 ' for the Publick Safety and Deliverance of
 ' these Nations, we are resolv'd, with all
 ' possible Diligence, to advance forward,
 ' that a free Parliament may be forthwith
 ' call'd, and such Preliminaries adjust'd with
 ' the King, and all Things first settled upon
 ' such

' such a Foot, according to Law, as may
 ' give us and the whole Nation, just Reason
 ' to believe the King is disposed to
 ' make such necessary Condescensions on
 ' his Part, as will give intire Satisfaction
 ' and Security to all, and make both King
 ' and People once more happy,

' And that we may effect all this in the
 ' Way most agreeable to our Designs, if it
 ' be possible, without the Effusion of any
 ' Blood, except of those execrable Criminals,
 ' who have justly forfeited their Lives,
 ' for betraying the Religion and subverting
 ' the Laws of their native Country: We do
 ' think fit to declare, that as we will offer no
 ' Violence to any but in our own necessary
 ' Defence, so we will not suffer any Injury
 ' to be done to the Person, even of any Papist,
 ' provided he be found in such Place,
 ' and Condition, and Circumstances as the
 ' Laws require; so we are resolv'd, and do
 ' declare, that all who shall be found in open
 ' Arms, or with Arms in their Houses, or
 ' about their Persons, or in any Office Civil
 ' or Military upon any pretence whatsoever,
 ' contrary to the known Laws of the Land,
 ' shall be treated by us and our Forces, not
 ' as Soldiers and Gentlemen, but as Robbers,
 ' Free-booters and Banditti; they shall be
 ' incapable of Quarter, and intirely deliver'd
 ' up to the Discretion of our Soldiers. And
 ' we do further declare, that all Persons
 ' who

' who shall be found any Ways aiding or
 ' assisting to them, or shall march under
 ' their Command, or shall join with, or
 ' submit to them in the Discharge or Execu-
 ' ting of their illegal Commission or Autho-
 ' rity, shall be look'd upon as partakers of
 ' their Crimes, and Enemies to the Laws,
 ' and to their Country.

' And whereas we are certainly inform'd
 ' that great Numbers of armed Papists have
 ' of late resorted to *London* and *Westminster*,
 ' and Parts adjacent, where they remain, as
 ' we have reason to suspect, not so much
 ' for their own Security, as out of a wicked
 ' and barbarous Design, to make some des-
 ' perate Attempt upon the said Cities, and
 ' the Inhabitants by Fire, or a sudden Mas-
 ' sacre, or both; or else to be the more ready
 ' to join themselves to a Body of *French*
 ' Troops, design'd, if it be possible, to land
 ' in *England*, procured of the *French* King,
 ' by the Interest and Power of *Jesuits*, in
 ' pursuance of the Engagements which at the
 ' Instigation of that pestilent Society, his
 ' most Christian Majesty, with one of his
 ' neighbouring Princes of the same Com-
 ' munion, has enter'd into, for the utter
 ' Extirpation of the *Protestant* Religion out
 ' of *Europe*: Tho' we hope we have taken
 ' such effectual Care, to prevent the one, and
 ' secure the other, that by God's Assistance,
 ' no such Stalls or Conspiracies shall be
 ' set on foot.

‘ we cannot doubt but we shall defeat all
 ‘ their wicked Enterprises and Designs.

‘ We cannot therefore forbear, out of the
 ‘ great and tender Concern we have to pre-
 ‘ serve the People of *England*, and particu-
 ‘ larly those great and populous Cities from
 ‘ the cruel Rage, and bloody Revenge of
 ‘ the Papists, to require and expect from
 ‘ all the Lords Lieutenants, and Justices
 ‘ of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, and
 ‘ other Officers, Civil and Military, of all
 ‘ Counties, Cities and Towns in *England*,
 ‘ especially of the County of *Middlesex*, and
 ‘ Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and Parts
 ‘ adjacent, that they do immediately Dis-
 ‘ arm and Secure, as by Law they may, and
 ‘ ought, within their respective Counties,
 ‘ Cities, and Jurisdictions, all Papists what-
 ‘ soever, as Persons at all Times, but now
 ‘ especially, most dangerous to the Peace and
 ‘ Safety of the Government; that so not on-
 ‘ ly all Power of doing Mischief may be ta-
 ‘ ken from them, but that the Laws, which
 ‘ are the greatest and best Security, may re-
 ‘ sume their Force, and be strictly Executed.

‘ And we do hereby likewise Declare,
 ‘ That we will protect and Defend all those
 ‘ who shall not be afraid to do their Duty in
 ‘ Obedience to those Laws. And that as for
 ‘ those Magistrates, and others, of what
 ‘ Condition soever they be, who shall refuse
 ‘ to assist us, and in Obedience to those Laws

' to Execute vigorously what we require of
 ' them, and suffer themselves at this Juncture
 ' to be cajol'd or terrify'd out of their Duty,
 ' We will Esteem them as the most Criminal
 ' and Infamous of Men, Betrayers of their Re-
 ' ligion, the Laws, and their native Coun-
 ' try, and sholl not fail to treat them accor-
 ' dingly: Resolving to expect and require
 ' at their Hands, the Life of every single Pro-
 ' testant that shall perish, and every House
 ' that shall be burnt and destroy'd by Trea-
 ' chery, and in defiance of the Laws.

*Given under our Hand and Seal at our Head
 Quarters at Sherborne-Castle, Novem-
 ber the 28th. 1688.*

William Henry, Prince of Orange.

By his Highness's special Command.

C. Huygens.

As the aforesaid Declaration was dispers'd
 of a sudden over most Parts of the Kingdom,
 and believed to be genuine, none was more
 surpris'd than the Prince himself, who had
 heard of it before it came to his Hand: it
 being at last given him by Mr. Speke himself,
 who waited upon his Highness at *Sherborne-
 Castle*, as soon as his Friend in *London* had
 transmitted some Dozens of them to him by

a particular Hand who came Post: The Prince seem'd somewhat surpriz'd at first, and openly declar'd he knew nothing of it; but when he had read and consider'd it, his Highness and all that were about him, seem'd not at all displeas'd with the Thing: And they were all sensible in a very little Time, that it did his Highness's Interest a great deal of Service: Which has also been acknowledg'd by several Persons who have writ of the Transactions of those Times, particularly by the Author of the History of *Europe*, who calls it the boldest Attempt that ever a Subject made, adding that it was disown'd by the Prince, but that notwithstanding, it did him very good Service. Nor is it indeed to be deny'd, that there are some particular Circumstances of *Affairs*, in which, the Rules of Policy do not only render such bold Attempts allowable, but necessary; and such was this. For as on the one Hand, Experience justify'd the Expediency of the Thing by the Success it was attended with; so on the other, if it should have happen'd to give any Offence, the Prince's disowning of it, was a sufficient Vindication of himself. But it fell out quite otherwise. And as there were few Persons in *England*, if any, who had such an universal Knowledge of the Dispositions of the Gentry and Commonalty in all the several Counties, as Mr. *Speke* had; he knew equally how to adapt things to their Temper, and by

by what Methods to disperse any Papers of that Nature, with the greatest Certainty and Dispatch; as appear'd soon after that, in the most surprising Manner, in a Matter solely contriv'd and manag'd by himself, which was a Mystery to the greatest Politicians of those Times, and long continued to be so, and which made no small Noise not only over all this Island, but in other Parts of *Europe*; and was at that Time of such eminent and signal Service to the Protestant Interest in this Nation, that from that Day forward, the Popish Faction and their Emissaries, never durst attempt to lift up their Hands, or hardly to shew their Heads: And that was the general Alarm given in one Day almost at one Hour in all Parts of the Kingdom, of an intended Conspiracy of the *Irish* and other Papists against the Protestants, which it is not to be believ'd, that there is any Person in *England* who was then Ten Years of Age, that does not remember it.

Mr. *Speke's* design in giving the Alarm was in the first Place, to expose the Weakness of that in it self contemptible Faction of Popish and Popishly Affected Party, when depriv'd of the Support of an Arbitrary Prince, and a Profligate Court: This, he thought no way so effectual to Accomplish as by putting their Strength to a Test; he also propos'd by that means, to weaken the Hands and the Hearts of King *James's Irish*

Soldiers, and to terrify them from making any desperate Attempt in that Crisis of their Master's declining Tyranny, by letting them see, how despicable their Interest in the Nation was, and how dangerous and fatal it would prove to them to put Matters to any Issue, which might involve them into inevitable Destruction.

He had in the End of King Charles II's Reign, travell'd several Times through England, to inform himself with the greater certainty of the State of the Kingdom, and to know the Inclinations of the People, and by frequenting all publick Companies, had obtain'd such a perfect Knowledge not only of the general Bent and Turn of the Minds of the Commonalty, but of the Temper and Disposition of the most considerable Gentry. He did not neglect at the same Time, to Enquire who were the most considerable and leading Tradesmen in Burroughs and Corporations, and to take down their Names and Dwelling-places: He also took an Account of the Coaches, Waggon, and Carriers, by which Goods, Parcels, and Letters might be convey'd, and of the Times and Days of their severall setting out to and from London, all which it was easy for him to do by himself, as to what concern'd the Gentry and Persons of Fashion, and by his Servants and other Emissaries in relation to the rest, he being always attended with an handsome Retinue, and

and making the Appearance that was necessary to obtain Admittance into the best qualified Companies; his principal Intention at that Time being to observe the Strength of the *Duke of York's* Party, but hereafterwards made use of those Observations on several other Occasions, and particularly on this.

When the Time was come which he judged proper for putting that Stratagem in Execution, he employ'd a certain Number of Persons, who knew nothing of the Contents of the Letters they carry'd, to deliver such and such Letters and Packets at certain Places; many other Letters and Parcels he sent by the Coaches, Carriers and Post to all Parts of the Kingdom, yet so contriv'd with respect to the several Distances of Places, that all might come to Hand in one Day and near the same Hour, and all contain'd a Surmise of the Discovery of an universal Conspiracy of the *Irish* and their Popish Adherents, to make some desperate Attempt; these Letters were severally contriv'd in such a Manner, that every one believ'd the Danger at his own Door; and were directed to Persons of such a Character, that the suppos'd Discovery of such a Plot was the more universally credited, as being made by Persons of Interest and Reputation. What the Consequence of that Alarm was, cannot be unknown to any *British*; the *Protestants* every where stood on their Guard;

in most Places they disarm'd the *Papists*; and in some, the Authority of the Magistrate was necessary to preserve them from the Insults of the Common People; nor did they ever after that make any shew of Resistance in any Part of *England*.

In *Scotland*, that Rumour prov'd yet of much greater Service to the common Interest of *Europe*. It is not unknown to what an exorbitant Height the Tyranny of that Reign was arriv'd there; the Army was almost entirely in the Hands of the *Roman Catholics*, and not a few of the Officers were *Irish*; the Duke of *Gordon*, the Head of that Party there, was Governour of the Strong Castle of *Edinburgh*, which was Commanded under him by one *Meldrum*, a most rigid and bigotted *Papist*, who was said to be very Active in the Persecution in *France*, where he had been an Officer: The Earl of *Perth*, Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*, and his Brother the Earl of *Melford*, Secretary of State, were both become most zealous Proselytes to the *Roman* Religion, (as Proselytes generally are) the Lord Provost or Mayor of *Edinburgh* was a *Papist* in Masquerade; many of the principal Officers of the Customs, and a great Part of those in publick Employments of all sorts, were avowedly *Papists*; and which is yet worse, the generality of the Episcopal Protestants there framing their Behaviour after the Model of the fourteen Bishops,

Bishops, who, contrary to the generous Example of those of that Order in *England*, had all in general combined with the Court and the *Popish* Party, to exalt the Prerogative above all Laws, to the intire Depression both of the Civil and Religious Rights of the Subject; that even after the *English* had shaken off the Yoke, the *Prerogative-Party* maintain'd their Ground in *Scotland*, and, went near to over-throw Liberty and Religion in both Nations: And it is somewhat beyond a Probability (abstracting from the Interposition of God's All-powerful Providence by extraordinary Events) that, instead of relying upon his dearly beloved *Irish Papists*, King *James* had thrown himself into the Hands of the *Scotch Highlanders* and the rest of the *Prerogative Party* there, the War had been carried into the Heart of *England*; in which Case, *Londonderry* and *Innishilling* must have fallen in Course, and the Protestant-Interest have intirely sunk in *Ireland* for want of Succours from hence.

While things were in this precarious Condition there, the Alarm was given by Letter unsubscrib'd, directed to Mr. *George Sterling*, a Citizen of *Edinburgh* of a good Estate, of an unblemish'd personal Character, and a Person so distinguish'd for his Zeal for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Civil Rights and Liberties of his Country, that he had by much the greatest Interest

rest in the said City of any private Subject whatever. The City-Drums beat to Arms on a Sunday about Six in the Evening; a thing very unusual there; It is not easy to express how Universal the Consternation was when it was given out, That the Town-Council had receiv'd Information of some desperate Attempt to be made by the *Papists*, who were at that Time very Numerous and Powerful; for besides that the Castle (as has been said) which commanded the whole City, was in the Hands of a *Papist* Bigotted Governour and Deputy-Governour, and a Garrison after their own Heart, who were animated by a Prerogative *Protestant* Chaplain, whose chief Diversion during the Time of the Siege, was Punting, as he call'd it, that is, Shooting at the innocent Inhabitants of the Suburbs of *Edinburgh* in the Streets adjoining to the *Castle-Hill*; and besides the suspected Character of Sir *Magnus Prince*, then Lord Provost, and the Interest and Power of many avow'd *Papists* in Places of Authority and Trust; The Royal Palace of *Holyrood-House*, which is a strong Square Stone-Building, was then possess'd by a *Papist* Guard under the Command of Captain *Wallis*, a Gentleman very steady to that Interest. In these Circumstances, the *Protestants* made ready their Arms, secur'd their Houses as well as they could; and many of the Inhabitants of the high Street, which is of the
Length

Length of near two English Miles, and has on the West End of it the Castle, and on the East End the Royal Palace, sent the Women and Children to the remoter Parts of the Suburbs, upon a Supposition, that if any thing should happen, the chief Dispute would be in the high Street, which was the most expos'd to danger from the Castle.

They pass'd the Night under Arms, and without any Disturbance; the Reason of which they imputed to the timely Discovery of the suppos'd Conspiracy. The *Munday* following in the Evening, the young Gentlemen of the University of *Edinburgh*, being assembl'd with such Arms as they could get into their Possession, they march'd down in a Body with a design to dismantle the Abby or Palace Church, which had been converted into a Mass-House, and above twenty Thousand Pounds (as I have heard it computed) laid out by King *James* in imbellishing and adorning the Altar and Church with Images and other Popish Ornaments; they were suffer'd to pass the Centinels at the Outer-gate without Opposition, but when they were come into the large outer Court before the Palace, and making their Way by the North Side of it to the Church, which stands behind it, Captain *Wallis's* Zeal and Bigottry getting the Ascendant over his Prudence and the Love of his Country, his Soldiers unmercifully fir'd a Volley upon the

the poor young Gentlemen, many of whom were Sons of the best qualify'd Families in the Kingdom, by which several of them fell, some not fifteen Years of Age.

The Sight of the Blood of their Innocent Companions inflaming their Survivors to Revenge, they immediately return'd to the City, where King *James's* Privy-Council being assembl'd, they wou'd, or durst not deny an Order to the City-Guard, which was a regular Company of one Hundred and Twenty brave and well-disciplin'd Soldiers, under the Command of Captain *Peter Graham*, to march to the Assistance of the young Gentlemen, who were resolv'd to dispossess the Traytors in the Royal Palace, which was immediately done; and these were follow'd by the whole Militia of the City, the whole preceded by the *Lyon* Herald, and other Gentlemen belonging to the Office of the King at Arms in their Formalities, attended by the King's Trumpeters, who, after Sound of Trumpet, Summon'd Captain *Wallis* in the King's Name, and by his Authority, to Surrender the Palace to the Force that was sent to take Possession of it: That Summons was answer'd by another Volley of small Shot; but in the Issue, the back Gate of the Palace was forc'd by a Detachment: The Garrison and Commander fled; and most of those who were not kill'd, made their Escape: The *Papish* Ornaments of the Church were

were pull'd down, the *Jesuit's* Schools were also dismantled, and the Materials carried in Ceremony by the young Gentlemen, attended by Persons carrying Torches, made a magnificent Bonfire at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, about two a Clock in the Morning.

Soon after this, ensued the Election of Members to serve in the Convention of Estates, in which it might have been a very dubious Matter, what Side might have prevail'd, if the Notion of the Conspiracy had not inspir'd those of the Electors otherwise, not much inclin'd to the Revolution Interest, with the greatest Indignation against King *James* and his Popish Emissaries. Mr. *Sterling* appear'd, with Sir *John Hall*, a Candidate for the City of *Edinburgh*, in Opposition to the Lord *Provost*, Sir *Magnus Prince*, and another Votary to that Party; but the Merit of the Discovery above mention'd, carried it in the Favour of the Former; the Example of the City of *Edinburgh*, influenc'd all the other Corporations in that Kingdom, and a Convention was procur'd, which after settled the Crown on King *William*: A Circumstance which it is well known, that *England* was then in no small Pain about, and a contrary Step to which might have at that Crisis ruin'd *Europe*.

Many and various have been the Conjectures that have been made, as well concerning the Author of the *Third Declaration*, as of the

the Alarm made of the *Irish Conspiracy*; both which have been attributed to some worthy Persons in Holy Orders, and to others who never knew any Thing of the Declaration, till they saw it in Print; nor of the Rumour, till they heard it spread abroad, as all the Nation did: But a Person, who it seems had better Information than most others had, made a very good Guess, when he said in a Pamphlet, printed and published in the Beginning of the last Reign, that one Person was the Author and Contriver of both, and that Mr. *Speke* was that Person. The said Pamphlet or Libel is call'd a Diary of several Reports, as well true as false, Printed in the Year 1704, which the Author of this Treatise supposes to be printed and published by *Dyer*, from some former Discourse he had with him on those two Topicks, in which the Publisher of this, two plainly opened himself to him on those two Points before, on a particular Meeting with him. *Dyer*, that noted *Jacobite* Tool and News-Writer, whose Manuscripts were one continu'd Series of most false and virulent Reflections against that excellent Prince King *William*, whom Heaven had rais'd up to deliver us from Popery and Tyranny: It is not therefore to be wondred at, if he has deliver'd himself in the most disingenious and contemptible Manner that he could, concerning Mr. *Speke*, and endeavour'd to represent his

his Services in the blackest Aspect: It is not to be expected that those Things which had a Tendency to advance the Revolution Interest, shou'd be put in a true Light, by one of that *Egyptian* Set of Men, who always exerted the small Abilities they were Masters of, to misrepresent and ridicule both it, and all Persons that were instrumental in it. Whether Mr. *Speke* represents the Author of that Libel, as misrepresented in the Character that Libeller gives of him, of which he will give the Reader leave to judge out of his own Libel, which he was pleas'd to term a Diary of several Reports, as well true as false, which is in the following Words,

The Preface to the said Libel, viz.

I Know 'tis expected that I say something by way of Preface to this Collection of Stories, and so I will, tho' I think I may as well let it alone; for if upon a fair Reading, it will stand the Test, no Person of Candour and Ingeruity will condemn it for want of a Preface, and Persons of a disingenious Temper which hate every thing which does not suit with their Inclinations, will never approve of it, tho' it should have a Preface as long as the Book it self.

For my Part I must confess, this Collection is none of mine, but a Gentleman's, who was very

well vers'd in the Affairs of 1688, that *Annus Mirabilis* which has astonish'd the whole World, and has gather'd the Reports from some Years since, which may be seen hereafter. I believe most People, I mean English born, who know any Thing of the World, have been Ear-Witnesses to many of the Reports here related; so that I need not undertake to prove the Truth of the Collection. Who is there that liv'd to the Age of Twenty Years, who has not known the Report of a Priest's bastard Son, a Tiler's Son, &c. brought into the late Queen's Bed-Chamber in a Warming Pan, and impos'd on the Nation for a Prince of Wales? Who has not heard of the (some say) intended Irish Massacre, consecrated Gridirons, Caldrons, Knives, Protestant Bridles, &c.

The Reasons why these Reports were rais'd, the Politicians best knew at that Time; but we by Experience have found the Effects they have had upon the Nation, and the dismal Misfortunes these three Kingdoms have labour'd under, for being too credulous to believe every flying Report.

The Reasons of our publishing these Papers, is that Posterity may see what pretty Stratagems, what cunning Devices, what Ways and Means, disaffected Persons can find out to blacken a Government they have a Mind to overthrow. Had King Charles the First never been branded with the Name of Papist Tyrant, and the like, His Head had never come to the Block.

I expected to be severely censur'd by some sorts of People, for exposing to open View, the Vitia
and

and Modos, by which some strange Things have been brought about; but I care not a Farthing for that, so long as they cannot deny, that they did raise these Reports, and for that end, by their Fruits you may know them.

The First Part is only a Specimen of what is to follow. I cou'd wish I cou'd have begun at King James's coming to the Crown, but our Collector began not this Work till September the 24th, 1688. Some Stories which have wanted a Date in this Collection, I have plac'd at the Beginning, because they seem to have been before September; and I have purposely concluded this Part with King William's Coronation, April the 11th 1689, that the Beginning of the next may be from a remarkable Period of Time; I may say one of the most remarkable which ever happened in England: As this is receiv'd the Second follows.

It is easy to judge of the Genius of the Man that writ this Libel, by his calling Ironically the Year 1688, in which the glorious Revolution was accomplish'd, that *Annus Mirabilis*, which has astonish'd the whole World.

It did indeed astonish that fine Gentleman and his Party, and it astonish'd likewise France; but it cherish'd and succour'd, and was a Year of Joy and Gladness to all good Protestants who were most happily deliver'd from Popery and Arbitrary Power in it.

He

He says King *Charles* the First was branded as a Papist; surely he wou'd not imply from thence that calling King *James* a Papist was branding him, and endeavours all he can, by very false and foreign Insinuations, to make that Reign of King *Charles* the First, a Parallel Case to that of King *James* the Second, and wou'd fain impose on the World, that the Actions then only of a giddy prevailing Rabble to be the same, with that the whole Nobility, Gentry and the Parliament then both of *England* and *Scotland*, and all the Protestants of *Ireland* had on most mature Deliberation and good Grounds done; since he was bringing on Destruction upon three Kingdoms, which they then all plainly foresaw, for no other Reason, but because they wou'd not suffer themselves to be infatuated with that Religion he had so publickly own'd. As to the Period of King *William's* Coronation, which he calls the most remarkable Period which ever happen'd in *England*, it was so indeed, and the happiest too, tho' he sufficiently intimates he thought it quite otherwise. Now see what a pretty Postscript he adds to his witty Diary, which is as follows:

Give me leave to insert two Reports, which seems to me to give the most plausible Account I ever heard, how the Noise of the Irish Massacre came to be spread thro' the Nation in one Day, I had

had almost said in one Hour; and how King James's Army came to be so circumvented in the West, as to lose the Field almost without Bloodshed: The Reader perhaps will admire to hear one and the same Person was the Manager of both these Intreagues, but so it really was; Mr. Speke, a rank Republican, who was formerly taken up and fin'd, for being too busy in the Discovery of the Murder of the Earl of Essex in the Tower, which he cou'd not make out before the Prince of Orange's Descent, made it his Business to travel through England twice, one under the Notion of a Whig, and once as a Tory; by which Means, and intruding himself into the Company of the Country Gentlemen, he learnt the Names of both Parties, and the Places where they dwelt; now when the Time was come that they thought convenient for the trumping up an Irish Massacre, they contriv'd to send Letters to the Whig Party by Coaches, Carriers and Posts, so that the Persons to whom they were sent might receive them all upon one Day; suppose a Gentleman liv'd at York, and another at Cambridge, who was to spread this Report; York being three Days Journey, and Cambridge but one, they sent their Letters to York two Days before they sent to Cambridge; so that all their Letters came to hand the very same Day, and thus the Report was bruited throughout England, Jupiter quos vult perdere dementat. The Second is this, Mr. Speke (as I said before) being a rank Republican, upon the Prince of Orange's landing, was

was thought a fit Person to betray the Prince of Orange's Strength and Designs, if he cou'd be induc'd by Money to undertake it; for this Reason, when the Prince of Orange landed, the King sent for him, and took him into his Closet, and told him, if he wou'd he cou'd do him a particular Piece of Service at that critical Juncture of Affairs; and withal promis'd him a good Gratuity, besides a Remission of his Fine (which was not yet paid) occasion'd by his being concern'd with Lawrence Braddon, in the Discovery of the Earl of Essex's Murder. Hugh Speke upon this, being a Man of a long Head, and desiring an Opportunity to be reveng'd upon the Royal Family of the Stuarts, desir'd His Majesty to let him know what he cou'd be servicable to him in, and if he cou'd he wou'd undertake it? The King told him that it was to go over to the Prince of Orange, and insinuate himself (which cou'd be no hard matter for him to do) into his Camp, and to give him a particular Account of the Prince's Strength, Motions and Designs, &c. Speke desir'd three Days to consider of it, but return'd his Answer in twenty four Hours, that he wou'd undertake it, provided His Majesty wou'd give him his own Way; the King was at first somewhat surpriz'd at his Motion, but at last yielded to it: Whereupon Speke desir'd His Majesty to have two Passes, one sign'd by himself, and the other by the Lord Feversham, then General of His Army, with these Words, Let the Bearer hereof Pass and Repass; which was done, and he

(Speke)

(Speke) had his Fine remitted to him, two Hundred Pounds put in his Pocket, and a good Horse under him, besides Bills for what he would: Being thus prepar'd, he set out; when coming to the King's Camp, he shew'd the Lord Feverham's Pass, by which he pass'd unmolested to the Prince's Camp: Speke being got thus to the Prince at Exeter, was introduced to his Highness by a great Favorite (if I mistake not, his Name was Talmash, or something like it) and told him the Errand he was sent about, viz. To be a Spy, shewing him the Pass signed by the King's Hand, and giving him the Account I have already mention'd. The Prince having got this Pass into his Custody, as Speke declar'd, and Fame reports from his Mouth, made his Advantage of it, to the full Discovery of the King's Strength and Designs: For by Vertue of the King's Pass, any of the Prince of Orange's Officers had free Passage to and from the King's Army; tho' Speke at the same time kept a constant Correspondence with the King, and sent him an Account of the Prince's Army, according to his Promise, but always made it three times larger than it was.

The Elegancies of his Postscript exceed those of his Preface. He there tells us plainly, That God deprived us of our Senses in those Days, because he had a Mind to destroy us: So that he makes the Revolution a Term synonymous to Destruction. Mr. Speke frankly
H owns,

owns, that he is not at all desirous of receiving a good Character from a Fellow of such a profligate Conscience.

He thought it would be the best Way to inspire his Reader with Resentment against Mr. *Speke*, by representing King *James* as his Benefactor, and him in such despicable Circumstances (as if he had been a Foot Soldier) to stand in need of a Horse to be put under him, and a Viaticum of two Hundred Pounds, (besides I know not how much in Bills in his Pocket.) Mr. *Speke* had then as good Horses as most Gentlemen in Town, to the Number of Seven; and neither stood in need of Money, nor did he receive one Farthing of the King. But refus'd the Sums of Money before mention'd; tho' he had on the 22d Day of *May* in that same Year, paid two Thousand Pounds, which compleated the Sum of five Thousand Pounds with what he had some time before paid into King *James's* Exchequer, on the Account before mention'd, as plainly appears by the annexed Report of the late Earl of *Godolphin*, then Lord High Treasurer to Her late Majesty, made before the Publishing of this false and malicious Libel; which said Report, the Reader will find in this Treatise, and will thereby be fully convinc'd, that 'tis a most notorious Falsehood what that scandalous Libeller asserts, That his Fine being then unpaid, was remitted by
King

King *James*: And all the other Part of his Postscript, Mr. *Speke* thinks it very unnecessary to Answer; for the Fellow makes himself no less ridiculous by calling him a rank *Republican*, who wanted to revenge himself on the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, than his malicious Falsehood renders him odious. Were not both the Prince and Princess of *Orange* of the Royal House of the *Stuarts*, the former the Nephew, and the later the Daughter of King *James*, to whom this Libeller was so great a Votary? And as for the Compliment of a Republican, it is very certain, that Mr. *Speke* deserved that Epithet for contributing so eminently to settle the Crown of *Britain* on the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and after them, on Her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, with the same Justice that a restless *French* and *Papist* Faction does still brand (to use our Author's elegant Expression) those noble Patriots who have most vigorously Contributed, and gloriously Accomplish'd the Settlement of the same Crown in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, with the same odious Character; which is all the Answer we shall give the Libeller: And then shall proceed to give the Reader a short Account of King *James's* retiring into *France*.

That Prince having been seiz'd at *Feverham* in *Kent* by Seamen and Fishermen, as he was going for *France*, as they suppos'd, when

they came to know who he was, they treated him civilly, and he was conducted to *London* by some Gentlemen of *Kent*: But it being thought inconsistent with the Being of a free Parliament, that the King should remain at *Whitehall*, whereby his *Popish* Adherents might have been Encourag'd under the Umbrage of the Royal Authority, to play an After-game that might have prov'd of dangerous Consequence; the Prince of *Orange* was advis'd to propose to the King to remove from *Whitehall* to any other Place he shou'd please to chuse; in which Case he shou'd be attended by a Troop of his Horse as a Guard, 'till the Affairs of the Kingdom should be brought to a Settlement. Upon which King *James* on his return out of *Kent* to *Whitehall*, went forthwith for *Rochester*, having a Troop of Horse of the Prince's to attend him thither; from whence, after he had consider'd some time with himself, and being in great Concern what Method he had then best take, he writ to Mr. *Speke* by Mr. *Collins*, whom he sent from *Rochester* express, to know Mr. *Speke's* Sentiments; Whether he thought it fittest for him to remain in *England*, or to follow his Queen into *France*; assuring Mr. *Speke*, that he would rely intirely on his Opinion and Judgment therein. Upon perusing of King *James's* Letter to him, Mr. *Speke*

Speke told *Mr. Collins*, that the Affair was of such great Moment, that he must have time to consider maturely on it, before he could return an Answer; therefore he could not send him back till next Day in the Afternoon at soonest; and that then he should have his Boy, and two of his Horses to carry him back to *Rochester* with an Answer, wherefore he desir'd him to have Patience; and after some further Discourse with him, told him, That he had appointed Business, and was to meet one at that Juncture, but would be with him again in two Hours time at the *Red Heart Inn* in *Fetter-Lane*, and would then Sup with him, and Discourse him further. *Mr. Speke* consider'd, that in the Circumstances in which Affairs then stood, the stay of that misled and bigotted Prince in *England*, cou'd only tend to imbroil the Affairs of the Nation, which he knew cou'd never be settled upon any solid and lasting Foundation of Security for the *Protestant Religion* and Liberty of *Europe*, unless the Prince and Princess of *Orange* were invested with the Royal Dignity. The Eyes and Ears of the Christian World were then attentive to the Steps that Prince should take, and the Success with which they should be attended. *Mr. Speke* therefore took Coach immediately after he left *Mr. Collins*, and went directly to *St. James's* to the Prince of *Orange*; and being conducted to his Highness

ness in Private by Mr. *Kien*, after some Discourse, he deliver'd to his Highness the said Letter receiv'd from the King ; and after the Prince had perus'd it, he stood some time in a Pause, and then ask'd Mr. *Speke*, What Answer he had thoughts of writing to the King : He told his Highness, That it was his humble Opinion, that it would be most for the Interest of the Nation, and the Safety of our Religion, to advise the King to pursue his former Resolution of withdrawing into *France*. The Prince approving of that Advice, and of all that Mr. *Speke* design'd to write in Answer to the King, left the Prince, and return'd to Mr. *Collins*, and supp'd with him, and then retir'd 'till next Morning, when after he had perfected his Letter to the King, he went again to St. *James's*, and shew'd his Highness what he had wrote to his Majesty ; and he well approving thereof, Mr. *Speke* soon after dispatch'd Mr. *Collins* back to the King, lending him his Boy and two of his Horses ; and about three Weeks after that, lent him sixty Guineas, and procur'd him a Pass to follow his Master into *France*. The King, after he had perus'd the Answer Mr. *Speke* wrote him, accordingly Embark'd forthwith for *France*, without leaving any legal Power behind him ; of which Mr. *Speke* receiving an Assurance by the return of Mr. *Collins* to *London*, he went forthwith to St. *James's* to give

give the Prince an Account of the King's Departure for *France* pursuant to his Advice, who seem'd not displeas'd with the News he had brought him. In his Letter to the King, Mr. *Speke* laid before his Majesty with a respectful Freedom, the Steps into which his Majesty had been misled, by a set of profligate Men, who had precipitated him into those ill Measures he had pursu'd; and especially in shedding a torrent of Innocent Blood, in direct Violation of the Laws, which had been not only dispens'd with, but trampled under Foot in a very arbitrary Manner. This the King knew by sad Experience to be Matter of Fact, and there needed no Arguments to prove what that unhappy Prince was sensible of by the unerring Testimony of a convicted Conscience. Mr. *Speke* was then fully sensible, that the King being gone to his beloved Brother of *France*, would make him far more obnoxious to his poyson'd People of *England*, as King *James* was pleas'd to term them on his taking Shipping for *France*, leaving the Earl of *Ailesbury* at *Rochester*.

The King having thus abandon'd the Realm, without leaving any Commission for the Administration of the Civil Government in his Absence; soon after that, the Lords and other leading Persons of the Kingdom then in *London*, made their Application to the Prince of *Orange*, praying his Highness

ness to assume the Government of the Kingdom, and dispose of the accruing Revenues for the Exigencies of the State, 'till the Affairs of the Nation shou'd be settled by a Convention of the Estates, which they made it their humble Request, that his Highness would be pleas'd to call; Returning at the same Time, their unfeigned Thanks to that illustrious Prince, for his having so generously expos'd his Person to such eminent Dangers, in Accomplishing the glorious Design of rescuing the Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power.

Upon the Meeting of that Convention, the Commons forthwith Unanimously Voted, *That King James having Abdicated the Government, the Throne was thereby become vacant.* The House of Lords, at first, excepted against the Word *Abdicated*, and instead thereof wou'd have inserted the Word *Deserted*; which occasion'd many Conferences between the Lords and Commons; which Dispute about the Word, issued in an unanimous Vote of the House of Commons, *viz. That King James the Second, having endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between the King and People, and by the Advice of the Jesuits, and other wicked Persons, having violated the Fundamental Laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, hath Abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby become*

vacant. To which Vote, the House of Lords gave their Concurrence by a Message sent to the Commons the 7th of *February* then next ensuing, that their Lordships had agreed to the Vote sent them up the 28th of *January*, without any Alterations. Here was the whole Body of the Nation, the Lords by themselves in their own Persons, and the People by their Representatives agreed, That King *James* had *Abdicated* the Government, and that the Throne was thereby vacant. The Elevation of King *William* and Queen *Mary* to the imperial Throne of this Realm, was a natural Consequence of that united Vote of both Houses. So, Mr. *Speke's* design of advising King *James* took the desir'd and happy Effect, to be rid both of him, his *Papist* Crew, and Arbitrary Power all at once. The tender of the Crown was made a few Days afterward to the Prince; and their Highnesses being Proclaim'd upon the Acceptance of that Tender, their Majesties were on the 11th of *April* following Crowned King and Queen of *England, France and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

From the Time of King *William's* Accession to the Throne, to the Peace of *Reswick*, Mr. *Speke* kept a continual Correspondence with King *James* by King *William's* Knowledge and Direction; for the defraying the Charge of which, and of other Secret

Services, too tedious here to mention, he receiv'd several Sums of Money from King *William* ; and in whose Reign, he might with the greatest Ease imaginable, have been promoted to considerable Employments, and rais'd as great a Fortune as many others have done; who neither had such a Foundation in Point of Estate to begin upon, as he had, nor the Merit of such Sufferings and Services to recommend them to the Royal Favour : But as he was very sensible that his accepting any publick Employment under King *William*, would have incapacitated him from doing the King those Services which few besides himself could perform, he chose rather to rely upon his Majesty's Generosity and Royal Bounty (of which he had often receiv'd essential Testimonies in a private Manner) than to render himself useless to the Publick, by advancing his private Fortune and Interests, which he had as good Opportunities of doing, as any private Gentleman in *England* : For besides the Honour he had to be Personally known to their Majesties the King and Queen, and to have private Access to them whensoever he thought fit to desire it, his Brother-in-law, had the Honour to be advanced to one of the most Honourable and Profitable Employments in the Kingdom, and liv'd and dy'd in that Office ; and their Majesties were graciously pleas'd
at

at all Times to give that favourable Acceptance to his humble Requests, that if he had been a Person of a greedy and mercenary Temper, as many have been, he might have made (to speak much within Bounds) at least twenty Thousand Pounds, by way of Gratification for the Favours he procur'd for others; when at the same Time, in Consideration of the low Estate of the Exchequer, he declin'd soliciting and importuning King *William* for the Reimbursement of his own five thousand Pounds so unjustly extorted by King *James*, and always expended more than he receiv'd for his Majesty's Service; till at last the untimely Death of that magnanimous Prince, convinced Mr. *Speke* too late, that his publick Spirit in his younger Years might bring him to such Penury in his old Age, as he, nor any of his Family, had ever been acquainted with. Mr. *Speke* was in the *West* of *England* at the Time of that unhappy Event of King *William's* death; sometime after that he came up to *London*, and in the Beginning of her late Majesty's Reign, Petition'd her, setting forth his Sufferings and Services in as few Words as he could: And upon his Petition, her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to refer his Case to the Right Honourable the then Lord High Treasurer *Godolphin*, who was pleas'd

pleas'd to make the following Report there-
on.

May it please your Majesty,

IN obedience to Your Majesty's Commands, signify'd to me by Sir Charles Hedges, K^t, one of your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, upon the annexed Petition of Hugh Speke : I have consider'd the said Petition ; and for the better informing of my self of the Petitioner's Case, have referr'd the same to William Borret, Esq; Solicitor for the Affairs of the Treasury, who having examin'd the Petitioner's several Allegations, hath made his Report to me thereupon ; by which I find the Matters of Fact, contain'd in the Petitioner's Case, are True, and that he hath been a great Sufferer ; and that there was five Thousand Pounds paid into the Exchequer of Your Majesty's late Royal Father, for his and other Pardons, tho' the two Fines of the Petitioner and his Father, were both but two Thousand three Hundred Twenty Seven Pounds, six Shillings and eight Pence : And that there was not any Prosecution against either of the other three Persons, viz. Mary Speke, John Speke, and Mary Jennings, included in the said Pardon ; so that it appears to me by Mr. Borret's Report, that there was paid the Sum of two Thousand six Hundred seventy two Pounds, thirteen Shillings and four Pence more than both their said two Fines amounted to. And I am
of

*of Opinion the Petitioner is become a real Object
of Compassion.*

*Humbly submitting the same
to Your Majesty's Great
Wisdom.*

*Dated at the Treasury
Chamber the 26th of
May, 1703.*

Godolphin.

*Which Report was read to her Majesty at
Windsor, by Sir Charles Hedges, at
a Cabinet Council held there, on Sunday
the 6th Day of June, 1703.*

*Upon which, Her late Majesty was pleas'd
to direct the said Earl of Godolphin to do what
he thought proper and fitting in that Affair.
And upon Mr. Speke's Application to that
great Minister, his Lordship was pleas'd to
tell him, that tho' his Claim was very just,
it was a Misfortune that he had not been
reimburs'd long before, for that the necessary
Service of the War, had so much exhausted
the Exchequer, that Her Majesty had not
Money to spare; but that if Mr. Speke could
think of any thing that it might be in Her
Majesty's Power to grant him as an Equiva-
lent, he should not be deny'd: And after above
three Years Solicitation and Attendance,
the said Lord order'd him only one Hundred
Pounds, which did not defray a fifth Part
of*

of his Attendance at Court. Upon which, being call'd to *Ireland* on other private Affairs of considerable Importance to him, he went thither in *April 1705*. And upon the Earl of *Oxford's* being made Lord High Treasurer, he applied by Letters to his Lordship, before whom his Business naturally lay ; and he had many Reasons to believe, that his Lordship would have us'd him with more Integrity and Humanity than he did. But Mr. *Speke* found by Experience, that tho' a *White Staff* cannot elevate, it can puff up the Mind, as much as it can raise the Fortune.

The Time of Corresponding upon the Square with Mr. *Speke* as a Gentleman and old Acquaintance was over. And it is own'd that he had no reason to take that amiss, since the Functions of his Lordship's great Employment could not permit it. Mr. *Speke* was very well satisfy'd with the Correspondence of the Gentleman to whom his Lordship gave directions to Answer his Letters, and should not have made the least Complaint, if the Assurances that Gentleman made, and so often repeated to him by his Commands, had taken effect. In *Summer 1711*. Mr. *Speke* receiv'd several Letters from Mr. *Taylor* of the Treasury, by the Earl of *Oxford's* Commands, assuring him, that Her Majesty intended him a Pension on the *Estab-*

blishment in that Country. But after he had waited twenty Months in *Ireland*, and found nothing done in it, he came for *England* in *March* 1713. to sollicite the said Lord here Personally, but could never get it effected; for what Reasons is best known to his Lordship; who had no Reason, that Mr. *Speke* can think of, to bear any ill Will to him, unless it was for his Care in giving his Lordship an Account of the arbitrary Proceedings in *Ireland*, and of the Invasion made on the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of the City of *Dublin*, in the Election of a Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; the whole Circumstances and Consequences of which, Mr. *Speke* laid before his Lordship at large, and sent him the City's Case in Print; and suggested the Necessity of preventing those fatal Inconveniencies which there was Reason to believe that some waited as impatiently for, as others were justly afraid of them.

If this were not the Reason, Mr. *Speke* is at a loss to guess what was; and if Things may be judged of by their Consequences (which is no ill way of guessing) his Lordship's Behaviour during the remaining Part of his Power and Grandeur, gave him no Reason to believe that Mr. *Speke*'s endeavouring to suppress and discountenance that High-flown Party and Faction in *Ireland*,
was

was agreeable to his Lordship, since he never took any Notice of the Intelligence he gave him, about the Difference there was between the City of *Dublin* and the Government, about the Electing of a Lord Mayor and Sheriffs. Others that had not such just Pretensions as Mr. *Speke*, had Pensions settled on them by his Lordship. All that ever Mr. *Speke* receiv'd from the Lords *Godolphin* and *Oxford*, doth not amount to half the Expences he hath been at in his Solicitations in Person and by Letters, &c. The five Thousand Pounds by him paid, were in the Nature of a Loan (tho' indeed an extorted one) for the publick Use, and were actually apply'd to the publick Service in the Fortifying of *Portsmouth*; of which, his present Majesty King *GEORGE* (whom God long preserve,) does no less reap the Fruit and Benefit, as King *William*, Queen *Anne*, or King *James* himself did, by whom that Money was so apply'd, and of whom, Mr. *Speke* might have receiv'd his Reimbursement, if he had not Sacrificed his own private Interests to those of his Country, in the Manner before related, to his very great Loss and Damage, as may appear by the following Account.

Paid

Paid into the Exchequer on the
 22d Day of May, 1688. and at three }
 preceding Payments, as appears by } l.
 the before recited Report of the } 5000
 Lord Godolphin, the Sum of —

Interest of it at 6 l. per Cent. per }
 Ann. from the 22d Day of May, to } 7800
 the 22d Day of May, 1714, is —

Principal and Interest, is — 12800

Besides the incident Charges of obtaining
 and passing Mr. Speke's Pardon, and entering Sa-
 tisfaction on Record, as to his Father's and his
 Fines : which came to no small Sum in those
 harsh Times : Besides other great Sums he
 has expended, purely in the publick Service
 of his Country, and particularly the Charge
 he was at in being kept Eighteen Weeks in
 a Messenger's Custody, in the latter End of
 the Reign of King Charles II. besides also what
 he was oblig'd to expend in the Defence of
 the vexatious Action of *Scandalum Magnarum*,
 brought against him by the Duke of York ;
 in which he lay above two Months a Priso-
 ner in the Gatehouse, before he remov'd him-
 self to the King's Bench Prison, where he con-
 tinu'd above four Years, to his vast Loss
 and Prejudice, as well as Expence.

This being a true and ingenuous Account of Mr. Speke's Sufferings and Services, and amongst these, of several secret Transactions, many of which he has good Reason to believe that few Persons now living had any perfect Notion of; it remains only, that he should recommend this little History to the impartial Consideration of the candid and judicious Reader. If he has not added many other particulars of publick Affairs in which he was concern'd, and many more in which he was not immediately concern'd, it is for brevity's sake, and not because he was a Stranger to the Intrigues of those Times, but because he thinks it may suffice for him to account for his own Actions, and to vindicate his Integrity, as having become in a more than ordinary Manner, the Object of the Virulence and Malice of a profligate Set of Men, who without regard to Honesty, Truth and Honour, never fail to load with the bitterest Calumnies and Reproaches, those whose Principles cannot permit them to run into the slavish Schemes which they pursue; not because they are to self-denying, as to suffer in their own Persons for their Principles either as to Loyalty or Religion, but because the Tyranny and Malice of their Temper are such, that they can never judge themselves happy, without the infernal Gratification of

Tormenting, Destroying, or Tyrannizing over those who are better or more honest than themselves. If it be said, that Mr. *Speke* has consider'd long, before he undertook the so easy a Task of justifying himself, he prays it to be consider'd, that a Publication of this Nature in King *William's* Reign cou'd have had no tendency to the Advancement of his Service; and was not judged proper (for other Reasons that may easily occur to Persons of a penetrating Judgment) under the Reign of the late Queen; during a great Part of which, especially the later Part of it, too much Countenance was given to Works of a quite different Strain.

And now to conclude all, Mr. *Speke* does not think fit to let fall his Pen, till he has added to what has been said already, something by way of Apology for himself, as to the Manner of his Acting with King *James* in the Time of his Misfortunes: If it be said, that Mr. *Speke* being requir'd by his Sovereign to serve him in an Extremity, did not only fail in the Performance of that Service, but made use of those Means the King had put into his Hands to the Prejudice and Dis-service of that Prince; It might suffice to Answer, That admitting it be so, he did no more than the best and greatest Men in the Kingdom. I shall mention only one who was the chief of them, his own Son-in-law, and her late Majesty too his Daughter. It

will surely be own'd, that if the Obligations of Conscience and Duty to God, were not anterior to all other, the Prince was under greater ties to the King, than any other: He was admitted into his Councils, had a Command in his Army, was the first Man about his Person and yet left him w^{hen} in a manner flying from his own Army in a dejected Condition, and went to join his open Enemy, and aid and assist him with his Person, Interest and Advice. But because Mr. Speke does not pretend to have Acted, nor ever will Act from Precedent only, and form his Opinion upon the Judgment of others, without enquiring into the Nature of the Thing himself, he thinks fit to assign some of the Principal of those cogent Motives by which he was determin'd to pursue those Measures, which he was engaged in not by Accident, Education, or out of Interest or Resentment, but by Principle.

He does not conceive it to be a Point incumbent upon him, to account for K. James's Policy in applying in such a Circumstance, to a Person whom he had most cruelly Prosecuted and Oppress'd (as well as all his Family) and whose Brother's Innocent Blood, scarce yet cool, was crying for Vengeance on the Authors of his Murder: Yet was not that or his other Sufferings, the Motive of Mr. Speke's insurmountable Aversion to the Service of that Prince. His Brother was no more, nor could

could he be recall'd from the Grave : but his Country yet subsisted, his languishing, bleeding Country, whose Wounds could not be healed by any other Balm, but that which Heaven was sending for her Cure : And Mr. *Speke* was not insensible, that if with *Balaam* he shou'd have been tempted by *Balak's* Gold to endeavour to curse *Israel* whom God had blessed, he must have perish'd with the *Moabites* : Therefore he neither wou'd accept of the King's, nor of his own Gold from his Hand, but follow'd his own Inclinations in the Condition in which he was, without being oblig'd to the King for any thing but a Pass. As a Christian he cou'd forgive the shedding of the Blood of a Brother ; but as an Englishman, What was his View ? The noblest Constitution in *Europe* almost overturn'd : A High-Commission Court openly battering down the Pillars of the Church, while Thousands of smaller Emissaries were secretly undermining her Foundations ; the Fathers of that Church with no small difficulty just got out of Prison, and in danger of making their next Stage to *Smithfield* : The Seminaries of Learning polluted with Superstition, and their Revenues given up to their Enemies : The Benches fill'd, or partly fill'd with Tools of Popery and Arbitrary Power : Popery getting the Ascendant in the Army, and Triumphant at Court : And to make way for this, a King professing

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Protestancy, pull'd away of a sudden by those whom, if the Guilt of Royal Blood could not deter from the Commission of so foul a Crime, wou'd certainly have stuck at no inferiour Villany to accomplish the Design of making *England* tributary to *Rome*, or turning it into an *Aceldama*. Horrid Scene! And yet irretrievable; so long as the Administration shou'd have continu'd in the Hands of a weak, bigotted, and misled Prince, given up to the Conduct of an *Italian* Zealot, under the Direction of a *French* Jesuite. These and no other, were the Motives that induc'd Mr. Speke to follow the Example of many worthy Patriots, whom he knew to have enter'd into Measures with His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, for rescuing the Nation out of the Hands of its most inveterate Enemies. How far his mean Services contributed to the Advancement of the Interests of the *Revolution*, and how far that became the Basis and Foundation of the present most happy Settlement of the Imperial Crown of these Realms in the August House of *Hanover*, (in which may it flourish till Time shall be no more) is what Mr. Speke does in all Humility submit to his Majesty's most mature Consideration: A Prince, whom God has fill'd with all those Royal Vertues and Accomplishments, that are necessary to Qualify him for the great Atchievements for which he seems to have been rais'd up by Providence,

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to be the Glory and Defender of the Protestant Religion; and like his illustrious Predecessor, King *William*, the Champion of the Liberties of *Europe*.

And indeed it is on his Sacred Majesty's innate Justice and Goodness only, that Mr. *Speke* depends, for obtaining such a Compensation as His Majesty's Royal Wisdom shall judge adequate to his Sufferings and Services, and to the firm and unshaken Constancy with which he has ever persevered in the pursuit of the real Service and Interests of his Country, notwithstanding the manifold Discouragements, and the very ill Usage, which (as he conceives) he has undeservedly met with; which yet cou'd never prevail upon him to deviate from his Principles: For however he may have ~~to some things~~ differ'd with one or two great Men, about some certain things, in which he apprehended their Conduct to be worthy of some blame, and never wanted Courage enough to tell them of it, (tho' perhaps to his great Prejudice) he can boldly challenge all Mankind, to instance so much as in one Article of publick Concern, in which he ever joined in any Respect, with the opposite Interest; or to show that he has in the least gone beyond the Bounds of Truth in any Circumstance of this Narrative of what he has suffer'd and done.

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The Consideration of which, he does with the most profound Respect submit to his most Excellent Sovereign the K I N G, not without an humble Confidence, that as his Majesty is a Prince, who is as great a Judge as any in *Europe* of Men and Things, His Royal Wisdom, Justice and Compassion, will readily incline his Majesty to do in such a Case, what is reasonably to be hop'd for, by a Dutiful, Faithful, and Zealous Subject, from so Great and so Good a Prince.

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